20c FEBRUARY 12, 1951

New Republic

EISENHOWER'S NEW CRUSADE

AN EDITORIAL

DEALING WITH RED CHINA

By LEONARD CONSTANTINE

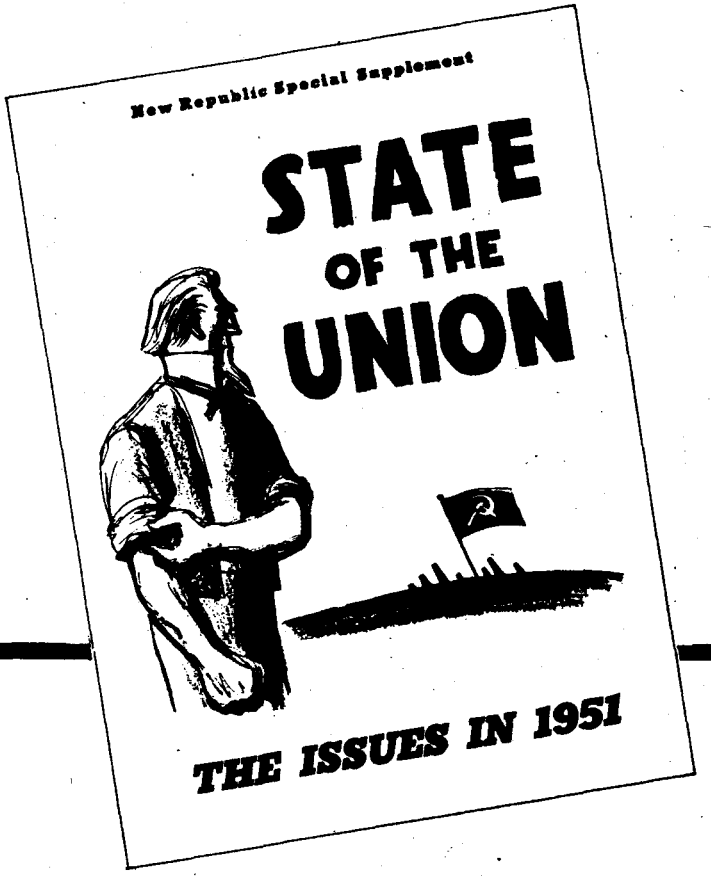
YOUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

By LOUIS WALINSKY

THE SCOTT FITZGERALD STORY

By MALCOLM COWLEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



1000 copies for $30

200 copies for $10

90 copies for $5

34 copies for $2

16 copies for $1

Single copy price 10c

(All prices cover postage)

"The STATE OF THE UNION means the state of all free peoples"

The *New Republic's* special supplement on the STATE OF THE UNION has been reprinted as a pamphlet for widespread distribution.

What are the beliefs we must hold to as we mobilize the nation?

What is our moral purpose in accumulating strength?

In the midst of confused and contradictory counsel, the storm of narrow and ill-tempered debate, the STATE OF THE UNION presents a clear analysis of the issues confronting the free world in 1951. It defines the field of conflict, it explains the honorable alternatives to atomic war, and the means of avoiding disaster brought on by false fears or too gullible hopes.

In complete unity with all the free nations we must have the courage to negotiate if negotiation is possible, an unfaltering belief in a just world, and tolerance which is the source of our strength and salvation. While there is hope of settlement we must go on trying, but we must gain strength through unity and know our purposes should the Kremlin decree war.

The STATE OF THE UNION tells how we may gain strength—the strength to defend America, Europe, Asia, and the entire free world. We must be strong, not in arms alone, but in expanding agricultural and industrial production, the social services and in stability and moral principle and spirit.

Buy and distribute the STATE OF THE UNION. Help combat the confusion, defeatism and moral indifference that pervade large sections of the press and the public.

Special prices on application for quantities larger than 1,000. Editions of 5,000 or more may carry a statement (limited to one page) by the sponsoring organization.

TEAR OFF HERE

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49th St., New York 17, N. Y.
For the enclosed $....., send me postpaid ☐ 16 copies, ☐ 34 copies, ☐ 90 copies, ☐ 200 copies, ☐ 1,000 copies of "The State of the Union, the Issues in 1951."

Name ..... Street .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

2-12-51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR FEB. 12, 1951

5 Eisenhower's New Crusade An Editorial

7 The Week:

7 The Rail Dispute

7 Profits as Usual

7 GOP Tariff Binge

8 McCarthy's New Threat

9 Outside America

10 Behind China's Iron Curtain, by Leonard Constantine

13 AMA vs. Country Doctors, by Ross E. Thomas

14 How Much Sacrifice for Defense? by Louis Walinsky

16 Harold L. Ickes

17 Books:

17 The Scott Fitzgerald Story, by Malcolm Cowley

20 History of the Law, by Jacob D. Hyman

21 The Pencil of God, reviewed by John W. Vandercook

21 The Diplomacy of the Dollar, reviewed by Ben Seligman

22 Music

22 Movies

EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling

REPORTER: Jean Begeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

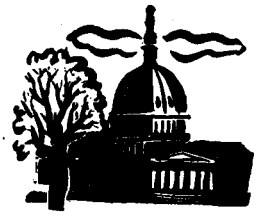
PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1951, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

YES, THERE IS an American War Party. It does not work directly; its operations are subtle. It is not the Pentagon that is frightened of a war at this time. Yet today the War Party's influence is evident everywhere in Washington. As the Administration walks the tightrope, the War Party jiggles the rope to hurl us and the world into the great abyss.

Not for a minute would the American War Party admit it is the war party. Yet all actions of its composite groups push in that direction. There is the Idiot Wing that wants a preventive war now; it is almost infinitesimal in size because responsibile military officials know how badly prepared we are. There is the Ultimatum Wing; it would tie our hands by telling Moscow that the next aggressive satellite action would mean an A-bomb. There is the McCarthy Red-baiting Wing; it cries "appeasement" to every reasonable step to explore, negotiate or reduce friction. (Some believe even Acheson is now captive of this group.) There is the Isolationist Wing of the War Party; it is composed of the Chicago *Tribune* and men like Wherry and Hoover who would make war inevitable by retracting our reasonable defenses. There is the Union League Wing; it hates British socialism so much that it opposes co-operation and would stop aid to Tito on ideological grounds. The "China Lobby" is one of the strongest elements of the American War Party; it wants China blockaded, bombed and invaded and will accept no substitute for the full-scale Pacific war which is Moscow's supreme desire. It is richly financed, strongly led and has such powerful press support as the Scripps-Howard newspapers and the Luce publications.

Those are some of the elements which make up America's War Party. Their motto is: "We won't be happy until we get it."



Eisenhower's non-stop performance here last week caused a fresh wind to blow through the capital. We pondered the meaning of Ike as he addressed the informal joint session of Congress on Friday. The atmosphere was undeniably cozy in the small Library of Congress auditorium. Eyes followed Taft as he came in early, for a powerful GOP internationalist, "stop-Taft" movement has definitely centered on Ike. Taft sat enigmatic, made no comment. It is a long-shot guess, but we believe that one of those two men, Ike or Taft, will be the GOP Presidential nominee in 1952. Ike wore the standard officer's blouse, officer's "pinks" and one row of service ribbons —plus an engaging grin. Reporters gasped to find he was making his all-important speech without advance text, with only one note sheet of topic headings. The important thing about Ike in this crisis, we guess, is not only what he says but how he says it. His quiet strength and energy seemed to give Congress a transfusion of will-power. They did not applaud him very much because the effect he was creating was obviously too deep for applause. Other notes on Ike: he has ruddy cheeks; the kleig lights turned his eyebrows into blonde fluffs. Ike is not bald exactly, but he could probably dry his hair with one paper towel. Finally, Ike's personality is powerful enough to change the mental traffic direction of the "amber" men—the uncertain Congressmen whose own light never shines steadily green or red.

Here is what Premier Pleven told Washington about French Communism: French labor still belongs primarily to Red-dominated unions; Red propaganda is universal; there are still 187 Commies in the 621-man Chamber of Deputies, largely due to the French-proportional-representation-election system. But . . . French Communism is definitely on the decline. The Communist boast that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dockworkers "wouldn't unload US munitions" exploded; the Red demonstration against Ike was a flop; membership in the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor has dropped from six to two million in six years; circulation of the party's organ *l'Humanite* has dropped from 600,000 to 200,000; Communist Party membership has declined two-thirds from its one million level of three years ago; the national election this year will almost certainly slash Red membership in the legislature. Conclusion: France's big danger right now is inflation, not Communism.

The CIO Political Action Committee has been investigating the "Labor League for Taft" in the November Ohio election. It reports that J. Eugene Carr of Canton, Ohio, its leading organizer, was a newspaper, chain-radio executive who served two terms as president of the Canton Chamber of Commerce, starting in 1947. The committee charges that certain league leaders were "well paid" for their services and quotes figures. It reports that Marion Patten, Montgomery County League chairman, who allegedly received $1,256 from Taft headquarters, previously "fought for the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers when that self-styled union was expelled from the CIO because of its Communist domination."

Notes: Truman's mix-up over the Federal Reserve Board's alleged pledge to sustain a cheap money market convinces many observers that he doesn't really understand the intricate bank-credit inflation issue. . . . John Hersey is practically living at the White House, writing a Truman series for the *New Yorker*. . . . *Readers Digest* makes another defense of antihistamines for common colds just as a survey in the *New England Journal of Medicine* ranks them with plain "milk-sugar pills." . . . Washington observers are almost unanimous that Congress won't have the nerve to vote the high Truman taxes without which continued inflation is certain. . . . After two years on Ellis Island without a formal hearing, war-bride Ellen Knauff has been temporarily paroled in her Army husband's custody.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

European Union

SIR: I was very much interested in the article in your issue of January 1 on "A Political Program for Europe." I was particularly impressed by the realization it showed that a European political authority is essential for Europe's defense and economic development.

Some recent developments, however, have rather changed the position with regard to your practical suggestions for approaching European unity. . . .

The protocol now under consideration for amending the Statute of the Council of Europe, by representing a compromise between the European and the British point of view, might still make it possible for Britain to take part in a European government. It would transform the Council of Europe into a real European government, immediately taking over the functions of bodies such as the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, but apart from this it would be assigned powers in advance only in so far as European legislation was passed. Bills —on such subjects as defense, transport, customs, etc.—would come before a European parliament consisting of two houses, the assembly and the committee of ministers, the latter representing, as at present, the member governments and preserving the existing unanimity rule. By this means the powers of a European government could be steadily increased, but at the same time safeguards would be available to governments like the British which has always been unwilling to delegate powers to a supra-national authority in advance.

It is encouraging that these proposals, which are now coming under the consideration of the committee of ministers, have already been widely welcomed throughout Europe as representing a chance of a practical way of ending much sterile argument.

London R. W. G. MACKAY

For Material on Latrobe

SIR: I am preparing a biography of architect and engineer Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1764-1820, who lived and worked in the United States from 1796 until his death. I am aware of the extensive material dealing with his life and works in the Library of Congress, the Maryland Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society and the archives of the Diocese of Baltimore, but I am eager to have access to any letters, drawings, journals or notes by or about him which may be in other hands.

All correspondence will be gratefully acknowledged, and I will take the greatest care of, and return, any material that may be sent to me. My address is Avery Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

New York City TALBOT HAMLIN

Republocrat

SIR: In the "Washington Wire" column of January 29, T.R.B. refers to Alan Valentine as "the sound Republican University of Rochester ex-president." As a Rochester graduate, let me correct this error. Alan Valentine may be "sound," and he may think like a Republican, but for some odd reason he chooses to be a Democrat. I believe in the 1944 Presidential election he headed the national organization of "Democrats for Dewey."

New York City DAVID I. WELLS

[Mr. Wells is partly correct; Alan Valentine was the executive director of the National Committee of Democrats for Willkie. – THE EDITORS.]

Executive Discretion

SIR: I write more in sorrow than in anger. Professor Corwin (*NR*, January 29) does not need to "inform" me that Martin v. Mott involved the construction of the Militia Act of 1795. I included Martin v. Mott in the first edition of my Documents of American History, back in 1934, and I am entirely familiar with the case. I said nowhere in my article [in the New York *Times*] that the decision interpreted merely a constitutional phrase rather than a law. What I did say—and I wish to re-emphasize it — is that the decision argued the necessity of permitting the executive large discretion in the interpretation of the law and of the war powers.

HENRY COMMAGER

Columbia University, New York City

No Pun in Chinese

SIR: "Inside Red China" (*NR*, January 8) is an article which can be readily appraised from the anecdote about the Red bank clerk, who tried to balance an account with a scale. How ignorant could he be! But alas, it is not the Red clerk but the "China expert" [who is ignorant], for the word "balance" could not be confused with "account clearing" in Chinese.

Adrian, Mich. H. C. T.

SIR: As I was told this story in English, I do not know what Chinese terms were presumed to have been used. Some of my Chinese friends heard it and did not cast doubts on its authenticity.

LEONARD CONSTANTINE

Accrington, England

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 124, NUMBER 7, ISSUE 1889, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 12, 1951

New Republic

EISENHOWER'S NEW CRUSADE

MILITARY action today is the accepted way of waging the political struggle between world Communism and world democracy. So we and our enemies are experiencing one common development—the steady shift of political power to the generals.

Military action is shaped by political assumptions. It shapes political trends. Yet no military leader is equipped by training or experience to take on a political role.

The Soviet generals, as they make political decisions for Russia and take over the governments of her satellites, are not without qualifications. In theory, Soviet military doctrine is established at all times within a Marxist political framework. In practice, Soviet political dictatorship is based on the same essential procedures of the military chain of command.

Our generals in contrast are ill-equipped to undertake political tasks on behalf of democracy. We separate military and political action and hold them far apart. The ways in which we instruct our generals to command our armed forces sharply conflict with the ways in which we govern ourselves.

Naturally when we try to make political leaders of our generals, we end up with ten failures for every one success. That record, which is the pride as well as the peril of a democracy, was clearly before General Eisenhower as he accepted the hardest political assignment given an American general since Washington.

Eisenhower's report is an inspiring declaration and a frank confession of his own dilemma. He begins each time by emphasizing his own limitations (a quality wholly lacking in MacArthur). At the same time, he accepts the full implications of his political assignment to rescue a continent and a nation from defeatism and apathy. He named the invasion of Europe the Great Crusade. He recognizes that his present assignment must be far more of a crusade.

"The fighting forces," Eisenhower told the Congress, "are but the cutting edge of a very great machine, the inspiration and the power for which we find in the hearts of citizens. . . . One of the greatest factors is morale. . . . Morale involves understanding; it involves heart, courage, fortitude, basic purpose."

Eisenhower reports a rise in the morale of Europe; "a rejuvenation, a growth of determination, a spirit to resist." But he recognizes that Europe's will to survive free is very far from secure. "It would be false and idle," he adds, "to say that there does not exist in many strata of society pessimism bordering on defeatism." There are "great reservoirs of leadership that have not been touched." There is great "potential strength" rather than actual strength today. Eisenhower's leadership is clearest in his refusal to discuss the future of Europe in terms of its present efforts or to be drawn into calculations concerning the proportions of national income applied to defense in each European country. He insists, "The only thing we need to know is that they are going forward with us breast by breast . . . that they are not lagging in their hearts."

The basis for the new crusade is the political unity of the United States, the British Commonwealth and Western Europe: "Given unity in spirit and action the job can be done."

But unity is built around lasting political relationships. Directly or indirectly, Eisenhower sets out his underlying political assumptions.

First, the objective is peace. Eisenhower states, "Unless this assumption is correct, I am out of place: we are not attempting to build a force that has any aggressive intent . . . and any kind of announcement to move against us because of the modest action we are trying to take is an excuse for a purpose that would have been executed anyway." The objective is to "erect a wall of security . . . behind which free institutions can live" and to maintain it "until Communistic imperialism dies of its own inherent evils."

Second, the unity of America, Europe and the British Commonwealth is a unity of equals. The standard is "reciprocity." The method is "a working partnership with every nation making the common security its task of first priority."

Partnership is not an alternative to leadership. In achieving unity among free peoples "some one nation, some one individual . . . has to take the leadership." We are called upon to take leadership. But leadership among partners is of a special sort.

Leadership among partners must be flexible and af-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

firmative. "We cannot afford to look over our shoulders with a suspicious thought that our friend is not doing as much as we are. We must by example inspire and assist and get everybody to do his maximum."

Leadership among partners means avoidance of domination. "While the transfer to Europe of American military units is essential, our major and special contribution should be in the field of munitions and equipment." One reason is that a permanent garrison of many American divisions in Europe would amount to occupation and would lead to a kind of domination that would work against a true partnership and weaken Europe's equal status.

Third, Eisenhower assumes that Germany cannot play a primary role in the working partnership. Eisenhower states:

> I personally think that there has to be a political platform, an understanding that will contemplate an eventual and an earned equality on the part of that nation before we should start to talk about including units of Germans in any kind of army. Certainly I for one commander want no unwilling contingents, no soldier serving in the pattern of the Hessians in any army of my command. It would be only a source of weakness.

Eisenhower speaks here only as a soldier. Yet his comment is also political, challenging attitudes still prevalent in the Pentagon, the State Department and among the sunshine patriots on Capitol Hill. In fact, Eisenhower's strategic conclusions concerning Germany follow from his previous political assumptions: partnership based on peace cannot engage in unnecessary provocation, and a partnership based on equality cannot override vital feelings of France and Britain *in Europe* as they have been overridden in Asia and in the UN.

II

Hope is the great counter force to war. In a few weeks Eisenhower has restored a basis for rational hope in the security of the West. He has combined caution with a crusading spirit. He has established a base on which a united effort can be undertaken. But much more than his brilliance is needed if the West is to move ahead.

In *Crusade in Europe* Eisenhower, as a civilian, was free to write as he pleased. He wrote:

> As a world force democracy is supported by nations that too much and too often act alone, each for itself alone. Nowhere perfect, in many regions democracy is pitifully weak because the separatism of national sovereignty uselessly prevents the logical pooling of resources. . . .
>
> The democracies must learn that the world is now too small for rigid concepts of national sovereignty. . . . None of them today can stand alone. No radical surrender of national sovereignty is required—only a firm agreement that in disputes between nations a central and joint agency . . . shall decide the justice of the case by majority vote, and thereafter shall have the power and the means to enforce its decision.

No such representative power exists today to guide Eisenhower in the political realms where he must fear to tread.

If Eisenhower as European commander tries to move national contingents far from their homes to the common frontiers of Europe, 14 sovereign governments will cry out in legitimate protest.

If Eisenhower as European commander calls for the 18 year olds of Europe, the mothers of Europe will have more cause to protest than the mothers of this nation. Already Americans protest. How much stronger would our protest be if our children were to be given to military men not responsible to the President and to a Congress which is answerable to us?

Yet no such representative power exists in Europe to guide Eisenhower and to sustain him in the decisions he must undertake.

There is an economic organization, the Defense Production Board, which is supposed to organize Europe's resources to sustain Eisenhower's armies. It has no real authority, no significant staff, no clear-cut role.

There is a body of North Atlantic deputies that is supposed to give political direction to Eisenhower. Its chairman is an obscure lawyer named Charles Spofford. It lacks the standing, the authority and the capacity to direct Eisenhower.

There is a higher council charged with formulating the principles that Eisenhower must follow and with summoning the peoples of Europe and America to the crusade. Its initials are NATO. One in a hundred citizens of the working partnership has heard of the initials NATO. Perhaps one in a thousand could translate them into the cold abstraction they represent.

Eisenhower is the ideal general-in-politics—too modest to usurp political power, too wise to proceed far without it. We cannot exploit indefinitely his loyalty and dedication. We cannot build a structure that will collapse without him. Eisenhower must be sustained. The price is weapons and manpower and also continuous and responsible political direction by the partnership he serves. Eisenhower may serve as a commander in Europe for no more than a year or two. Unless in that time representative political institutions are created for the West, his crusade is certain to falter long before the goal is reached.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

THE RAIL DISPUTE

For the second time in three months, thousands of railroad trainmen have simultaneously reported "sick" and unavailable for work. Coal mines and steel mills have been forced to shut down; mail and freight shipments have been seriously delayed. The railroads have published full-page newspaper advertisements telling the public that this is entirely the fault of railroad union leaders who "seek to repudiate . . . agreement to a firm contract." President Truman, in accusing the four railroad brotherhoods of "bad faith," has contributed to creating the same impression.

Union leaders have meticulously complied with every request of the government for assistance in arriving at a settlement of their two-year-old case. The workers, left to themselves, would have gone on strike long ago.

Railroad men, for years the elite among American workers, have steadily lost economic caste in recent years. Railroad workers have lagged behind almost every group in recent increases in their weekly earnings. Railroad wages have increased 26 percent since the end of the war, whereas construction wages have gone up 39 percent and workers in the steel and auto industries have raised their earning power 43 and 49 percent respectively in the same period. When the union leaders submitted a proposed agreement which failed to bring rail workers into line with conditions in other industries, heads of local unions rejected it. The railroads have seized upon this action as an excuse to refrain from further collective bargaining. They falsely maintain that the tentative agreement negotiated by Presidential Assistant John R. Steelman on December 21 amounted to a definite contract and have refused to seek a new understanding acceptable to the men on the roads.

The President's denunciation of the railway workers revealed the one-sidedness of the information he has been receiving about this case from Steelman. Fortunately, the members of the Senate Labor Committee have determined to take a hand in the matter and plan to call on the President to take the case over personally and appoint a special mediator for the dispute. If the President listens to the Senators and follows that course, a permanent and equitable railroad settlement could soon follow.

PROFITS AS USUAL

Under the headline "Mild Price-Wage Freeze Does Not End Threat To Profits," the *Journal of Commerce* for January 30, 1951, explains what the new price and wage orders mean to business:

> The general price-wage freeze proved a good deal less of a threat to corporate profits than many had feared.
>
> Two things about the general orders impressed the stock market favorably.
>
> First, no broad rollback of prices was required so that existing profit margins before taxes are not being squeezed.
>
> Second, wage rates are stabilized for the time being at the January 25 level. The door has not been opened for new broad increases in wage rates that could narrow profit margins by lifting costs while selling prices are frozen.

GOP TARIFF BINGE

The Republicans are off on another of their periodic drives to build higher tariff walls around the US. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, originally fathered by Cordell Hull in 1934, is now before Congress for a three-year extension. GOP leaders are confidently predicting that their Senate strength will enable them to write new restrictions into the program.

The Republican attempt to "protect" US industry comes at a time when unprecedented prosperity reduced to a record low this year's number of special-interest spokesmen, who plead before Congressional committees for tariff protection against the "slave wages" paid abroad. Today the terms of trade have shifted so far that for almost all industries, as Secretary Acheson pointed out, "it is *United States* competition that is feared in many areas of the world, rather than the competition of countries where wages are low and efficiency is equally low."

The GOP leaders will attempt to reinsert into the program the "peril-point" amendment passed by the Republican 80th Congress, which was never put into operation because the Democratic majority erased the clause in 1949 by extending the old law retroactively to 1948.

Success of the current Republican drive would disrupt the present interdepartmental co-operation on tariff agreements, by giving the conservative Tariff Commission the power to "suggest" tariff-reduction limits which the President could not override without Congressional approval. As it is, the Administration's use of the tariff-cutting powers given in the present act have been extremely restrained. Only one out of five tariffs has been reduced by the full 50 percent possible, while two-fifths have not been reduced at all. The ad-valorem equivalent of all duties has been reduced by an average of only 25 percent since 1945.

The trade-agreements program is an essential part of the Administration's plan for fostering closer international economic co-operation and minimizing the barriers to importation of scarce resources and materials from abroad. This has been furthered by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, under which, for instance, the 39 countries now meeting in Torquay, England, are extending all bilateral tariff concessions to the GATT members generally. It is against this impressive measure of accomplishment that the Republicans are pitting their partisan power. The successful continuation of the program, on the other hand, will mean as Secretary Acheson pointed out, "that behind the shield of military power we and our allies are creating, the techniques of growth and expansion are being maintained intact."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McCARTHY'S NEW THREAT

On January 30, the Republican Committee on Committees appointed Sen. Joseph McCarthy (Wis.) as a member of the Subcommittee on Appropriations to handle funds for the Department of State. Sen. William Benton (D, Conn.), a former Assistant Secretary of State, was moved to make the following comments on the floor:

This week I called on former Secretary of State Cordell Hull. . . . He is deeply concerned because we are devoting so much of our time to matters of relative insignificance, while the world is trembling on the edge of catastrophe. . . .

As I left Secretary Hull, he escorted me to the door; and in shaking hands he referred to these days as "days of chaos and unspeakable danger." . . .

Mr. President, I speak now . . . because it is my considered judgment that since we recessed, the Senate, through the processes of its own internal and party machinery, has added immeasurably to the chaos and the unspeakable danger of today's world.

I refer to the appointment of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy] to the Senate Appropriations Committee's subcommittee which is responsible for the budget of the Department of State. I think that even in normal times we could question a procedure which would give the potential power of life or death over any government department—the power to grant or withhold funds, or to allot them in detail—to any Senator who had proved himself an implacable and, in this case, an irresponsible enemy of the Department concerned. . . .

I myself have been the victim of Senator McCarthy's attacks or libels. He came into my state three times to speak. . . . He charged that Senator McMahon and I supported policies which gave aid and support to Communists everywhere. Of course, I could, and did, publicly defend myself. The members of the State Department, however, who have been subjected to equally false and irresponsible charges, are helpless. In his speeches in Connecticut, Senator McCarthy again and again sneered at Dean Acheson . . . as "The Red Dean of Fashion." . . . Here is a phrase to rival the best from the propaganda mill of the Kremlin. This kind of phrase is a perfect example of the worst and most terrifying aspect of the Russian propaganda.

In the future, State Department officers must suffer not only in silence, but, with this Appropriations-Committee appointment, suffer in still another way. They will find their budgets manipulated by their tormentor, activity by activity and division by division, behind closed doors, and for no reason they can fathom or refute. The junior Senator from Wisconsin is to be the judge, the jury and the prosecutor of the State Department. He becomes his own kangaroo court. He is to share in the vast and almost unlimited inquisitorial power of this Appropriations Subcommittee. He is to help decide who gets what, and when. The attention he expects to give to this assignment, we do not need to guess. We read it in the *Times Herald* this morning. The *Times Herald* announces that Senator McCarthy is "elated" . . . at this appointment; and no wonder. For the first time, he has a big and powerful lever in his hands and a ready-made platform on which to exploit it. And this occurs, to use Mr. Hull's phrase, in these days of chaos and unspeakable danger. The Republican Committee on Committees, under the Senate practice by which each party makes its own designations to committee and subcommittee assignments, is responsible for this action.

Is it to be wondered that whole sections of the American people tend to lose confidence in their representative form of government? . . .

Further, I ask whether this is the way to inspire the best efforts of the hundreds of able and devoted people who hold key positions in the State Department. Who among us now would urge any friend to take a major position in the State Department if he is to be subjected to unverified and unverifiable, silent, behind-closed-doors charges when he comes up for his budget? I ask whether any member of the Senate would want to subject himself to the indignities and to the attacks upon his character, the strain and tension with his friends and his subordinates. . . .

I should like to call upon the responsible leaders of the Republican Party to re-examine this appointment in the terms of the national interest in a time of crisis. I ask for the right to meet with the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Butler] and his 14 associates of the Republican Committee on Committees. . . . They are: Senators Butler, chairman; Bricker, Cain, Ecton, Flanders, Ives, Jenner, Kem, Langer, Lodge, Malone, McCarthy, M. C. Smith, Watkins and Williams. . . .

If this appointment cannot be reversed, all of us in the Senate, all of us who cherish the sober, judicious and honorable traditions of the Senate, must now be doubly vigilant to speak up against the first signs of the new and worse siege of irresponsibility which I predict lies ahead. The American public, to whom a subcommittee may have little meaning, and the organs of information and opinion which serve the public, must now be prepared to watch and judge the performance of this subcommittee in the light of its extraordinary and dangerous composition. If we fail to do these things, the chaos can only be heightened; the unspeakable danger can only be deepened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSIDE AMERICA

ROME WANTS PEACE

Vittorio Emanuele Orlando cried out in the Italian Senate during the debate on the government's support of Atlanticism: "I am not a European, I am an Italian and I shall die an Italian." It was a voice from out of the long past, tremulous with personal bitterness. Orlando was born the year Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States; and in this year of the whole world's incipient civil war on the issue of freedom, he has not yet forgiven Woodrow Wilson for having subordinated Italy's nationalist aspirations in the Adriatic and Balkans to the League of Nations.

Other Italian ancients of the die-hard "traditionist" Right, men like Nitti, Bergamini and Della Torretta, echoed Orlando's protest. Their stand, the extreme Right in the broad range of anti-Communist positions, is against not only Atlanticism but also the Europeanism, which to them is nothing more than a way station toward a hateful Americanization of the Old World and the old ideas and ideals.

But it is neither from this old guard nor from the left-wing coalition of Communists and fellow-traveling Nenni Socialists that the present—and increasing—threat to the government's ardent Atlanticism is coming. It is from the Europeanists of the Right and Center, from men who stand in, roughly, the same relation to Orlando as Senator Taft does to Herbert Hoover. Jean d'Hospital, the best-informed French correspondent in Rome, writes:

> Italy, linked completely and unreservedly with the Atlantic Pact, has suddenly realized that she is being dragged along without being consulted. In the Chamber, the Senate, the press and also at the Vatican, there is fright over the extent of the commitments which have been made.

There is no question of renouncing the Pact; there is, however, of calling upon the government to take a more European and Italian line. . . . The objections are now coming from within the Christian Democratic Party itself.

Such parliamentarians as Gronchi, Giordani, Meda, Cremachi, Del Bo and Mussini have come up with a definite program. It calls for greater autonomy for Italy within the framework of the Atlantic Pact; a European and Italian policy cut loose from Great Britain in close co-operation with France and Germany; the formation of a European army along the lines of the Pleven Plan, directed by a European, not American, command; support of a Four-Power Conference on Germany, involving abandonment of the plan to rearm West Germany along American-plan lines; and direct participation of Italy with Great Britain and France in a raw-material pool.

What the Vatican dreads most of all is war. Of the five Encyclicals during Holy Year, four referred warningly to the danger—the *Anni Sacri* on March 12, the *Summi Maeraris* on July 9, the *Menti Nostrae* on September 23 and the *Mirabile Illud* on December 6. And the Vatican's conception of the best protection against war is the creation of a "Christian Europe" which, while co-ordinated with American policy, falls short of the military implications of the Truman-Acheson Atlanticism. Much of Western Europe is already within the orbit of the policy goals served by Monsignor Montini and Monsignor Tardini, who jointly serve (though without the title) as the Pope's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Catholics play important roles in the governments of Germany, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Belgium and Holland.

Yet it is France—the France of Foreign Minister Schuman and the supporters of a Franco-German entente—that has in recent months become the keystone of the Vatican's "Christian Europe." Of the eight new saints canonized during Holy Year, three were French—Emilie de Rodat, Jeanne de Lestonnac, Anne Marie Javouhey. Another French woman, Marguerite Bourgeois, was among the six persons beatified. The others were Italian and Spanish.

With the death of Cardinal Marchetti-Selvaggini, a Frenchman, Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, has become Dean of the College of Cardinals. It happens that he comes from Nancy, and represents precisely those French-Catholic currents which most desire a reconcilation with the Germany of Konrad Adenauer. It also happens that he is the secretary of the congregation for the Eastern Church; and second only to the goal of a "Christian Europe" that may prevent war is the Vatican desire to win back hundreds of millions of Slavs, if not to Roman Catholicism, at least to a Christian faith with which Rome can deal.

One of the great events of this year is almost certain to be a Consistory at which some, if not all, the 19 vacancies in the College of Cardinals will be filled.

It is probable that the precedent set at the Consistory of February 18, 1946, will lead to the strengthening of the non-Italian majority in the College. What is new, however, is that the stress in the geographical apportionment, which would have favored the American countries if the Consistory had been held last year, will now, in all likelihood, favor the European and the Asiatic countries.

There is another implication in the trend of the Vatican toward support of European union, as the best immediate vehicle of its universal mission of peace and pacification. Pope Pius, though an Italian, is precisely what Orlando disclaims being—a European with a world outlook. And, unlike Orlando, the Pope looks forward, not backward.

In filling the vacancies in the College of Cardinals, the Pope will—in effect—be naming the prelates who will play the determining part in electing his successor. The implication in recent Vatican policy has been the possibility that, for the first time in centuries, the See of Saint Peter may be filled by a non-Italian. Two years ago, even a year ago, there was talk in Rome of an American. Now the talk is of a European—a Frenchman—perhaps, Cardinal Tisserant.

Paris PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND CHINA'S IRON CURTAIN

by Leonard Constantine

FOR MORE than two thousand years China has followed the way of her great sage Confucius. This elaborate code of behavior enabled the country to resist change. Based on family relationships and the duty of filial piety, it gave each man his rightful place in society and prescribed the rules of correct behavior and ceremony for every contingency. The wise ruler, who possessed the mandate of Heaven, governed by example rather than by direct decree. The officials, who were recruited from the scholar-gentry class, set the standard of correct behavior and exercised moral leadership over the people.

Into this traditional way of life, there now bursts the harsh and alien creed of Marxism—a creed which arose in the West, with its roots in Western philosophy and designed to appeal to and meet the needs of the highly industrialized capitalist nations of Europe.

It is a popular belief that the Chinese character, as molded by Confucius, is so strong as to influence every movement from outside and to make it peculiarly Chinese. China, it is said, has absorbed every foreign culture which has impinged upon her, making her conquerors captive. Communism will suffer the same fate. Discussion of this subject is not easy, for one must determine how far the Confucian way of life has already broken down and whether it is not doomed to disappear even without the challenge of Communism. The impact of the West, the 1911 revolution and two world wars have all contributed to the decline of Confucianism.

The New Life Movement started by Mme. Chiang in the 1930s was an attempt to revive the ideals of Confucius by combining them with Christianity, but the brief flicker of interest which was aroused soon died down. Yet, though Confucianism as a political and social system can never be revived, its teaching has remained deeply ingrained in the life of the people. In spite of the many revolutionary disturbances since 1911, the instinctive behavior of the people still conforms to the Confucian pattern, with its traditional courtesy, its restraint, its reasonable attitude and its emphasis on correct observance of ceremony and on the grace and dignity of life.

There are obvious ways in which Communism is utterly antagonistic to the Confucian system and code of behavior. Confucianism was an aristocratic system based on an aristocracy of scholars and gentry. It rejected the principle of the equality of all men, for though in theory anyone could take the examinations which led to official appointments, in practice members of the peasant class had little chance of passing them.

Communism, while in theory proclaiming the equality of all men, substitutes the dictatorship of the proletariat for the rule of the scholar class. Peasant or working-class origin is more important than social position or intellectual attainments in obtaining official positions. Students who still retained the Confucian idea that as scholars they were the privileged class with rights rather than duties are now told that only as they stand on the side of the proletariat can they justify their existence.

The family system, which was already doomed, is receiving its death blows. Instead of the duty of obedience of the younger members of the family to the older, the young are encouraged to resist and overthrow the conservative traditions of their elders. It is literally true for thousands that, as one Communist soldier said to me, "the Communist Party is my father and mother."

In the past the Chinese people have had a great deal of political freedom; they have been accustomed to being left alone by their rulers. The emperor was far away in Peking, and the good ruler was the one who interfered least with the people. So a sturdy practical democracy arose as they managed their own affairs with little outside interference. They were individualists who saw each problem as essentially a human one to be solved in a practical manner. Now they are experiencing a highly centralized system which interferes with every detail of their lives.

Though Communism seems in many ways the antithesis of Confucianism, there are also similarities between them which suggest that it is not, after all, so strange that Communism should triumph in the land of Confucius. Confucianism was a system for the training of leaders—princely scholars who by the force of their example would inspire the people to follow them. It is not a long step from this to the Marxist theory of the leader as the embodiment of economic forces, who rules because he understands the true significance of events. The veneration once given to the princely scholar because he correctly interpreted the will of Heaven is now given to the Communist leaders, because they alone know how to apply Marxist principles to the concrete situation.

The corollary of the leadership principle is submis-

This is the fifth and last of a series of articles on Communist China. The author taught history for about 20 years at Huachang University at Wuchang.

This series has been published by arrangement with the Manchester "Guardian" and the Baltimore "Sun."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

siveness by the people. The masses cannot be expected to comprehend the subtleties of dialectical materialism, but they can be made to follow the orders of a Communist government.

The right of rebellion is implicit in the Chinese system. The ruler held authority by the mandate of Heaven, but if he lost the mandate, if he failed to give peace, order and security, the people had a sacred right of rebellion, and that right has been exercised many times in Chinese history. It seemed a reasonable theory to the Chinese that the misery and suffering of the people in postwar years were a sign that Chiang Kai-shek had lost the mandate of Heaven, and that the right of rebellion should be used to enthrone a new dynasty—the Communist Party.

Twenty-six characteristics. One of the most acute and exhaustive surveys of the Chinese character ever published is *Chinese Characteristics*, by Arthur H. Smith. Though written 60 years ago it is still eminently readable and remains a true picture of Chinese life. Using copious illustrations, the author examines 26 characteristics of the people. It is interesting to ask how far these characteristics are being molded by Communist influence.

The first and best-known characteristic is that of face. The best settlement of any dispute is not the one which most conforms to justice, but the one which enables both parties to save their face. Face has no place in the Communist system. No consideration must be shown for the feelings of others, for the cause is greater than anyone's face. It is the duty of Communists to criticize each other, to point out faults and to expose one's own failings. It is surprising how quickly the Chinese have adopted the Communist technique of public confession and public rebuke for faults.

Politeness is a proverbial characteristic. Observance of the many rules of ceremony and behavior is instinctive. Though much of the old ritual had broken down before the Communist revolution, the people still know how to do things gracefully; they are still suave and courteous in manner. But this is part of the "feudalistic system" which must disappear.

One of the weaknesses of the Chinese character and one which the Communists are attacking with great vigor is absence of public spirit. Here the Communists are already making a radical change. It is being impressed on all that government is the concern of the people, and that all should take an active interest in public affairs.

The Chinese are known as one of the most patient of people. Living under adverse conditions they have passively accepted fate and said, "It is the will of Heaven." This patience will help them to endure the miseries of a Communist system which they do not like, but they are now being taught to be impatient and dissatisfied, not to accept their fate but to change it.

Filial piety, and all the ceremony connected with it, is fast disappearing. Disobedience to one's parents was the greatest sin; now it has become a virtue in the eyes of many young people who denounce their parents for their bourgeois ideas. Probably nothing causes more heartburning than this. Parents have lost their children to the party, and family ties are broken.

The Chinese conception of benevolence, the first of the five constant virtues, was to perform acts of charity. But the aim was to accumulate merit rather than to relieve suffering, and since the welfare of the people was not the first concern it often failed to meet their real needs. The Communists have little use for private charity, and seek to remove the fundamental causes of poverty and suffering.

Many improvements have taken place in reforming prison conditions, in the treatment of coolies, in fostering mutual help and sympathy. But philanthropy tends to be practiced on a class basis. To show sympathy toward the workers is right and just; to show sympathy for others is "bourgeois prejudice."

Contempt for foreigners is a Chinese characteristic noted by Smith, and foreigners are still regarded as barbarians because they cannot adapt themselves to Chinese ways. The British and Americans are now condemned as imperialists and the Russians welcomed as disinterested friends. But there is no reason to suppose that the Russians, any more than other people, will escape the odium of being foreigners, and the more Russians visit China the more conflicts are likely to arise. Many stories are told of clashes which have already occurred between Russian advisers and Chinese workers. It is noticeable that very unfavorable comments are made about Russians visiting China on cultural missions.

What does it all add up to? Is Confucianism still a living force today? In the cities the Communists are already succeeding in remolding the life of the people and exterminating the old Confucian virtues. The rural areas will be a more difficult problem, and it remains to be seen whether the passive resistance of the peasants will be able to stand against the rule of Communism. Will the Chinese, with their talent for eclecticism, take Communism and absorb it into Chinese life, and will these wise, kindly, tolerant people soften its sharp edges and create a new form of Communism suited to their genius? He would be a bold man who dared to give a definite answer, but it seems to be more likely that Communism will mold China than that China will mold Communism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What should be our attitude? These articles have presented a depressing picture of present-day China. They are designed to counteract the wishful thinking which still exists in the West that Communism in China is somehow different from any other brand of Communism. Surely it is now impossible to hold the theory that the Chinese Communists are merely agrarian reformers; for Marxism-Leninism is the driving force which impels them forward, and any deviation which might lead to the development of Chinese national Communism can be checked before it has time to become powerful.

What should be our attitude toward China? To look for any early collapse of this regime is also wishful thinking. The power of the Kuomintang is entirely broken, and a reinvasion of China from Formosa is unthinkable. The Kuomintang collapsed because it had nothing to offer the people; it still has nothing to offer and would be quite unable to rally the people to its side. Opposition from within the country is equally impossible. Some Chinese look to a third world war to rescue them; others, more realistic, accept the govenrment even though they do not like it, because they feel that the only alternative would be to make China a colony or dependency of America, and that is also distasteful to the nationalist spirit. We must accept the fact that China has a new government and that it is firmly in the saddle.

It is a mistake of Western propaganda to proclaim too loudly that China is a satellite of Russia. China is firmly in the Russian camp, and regards Russia as her friend, teacher and example. When the Sino-Russian trade agreement was signed, America was so violent in her denunciations that Chinese people felt it must be of great advantage to China if it could make America so angry. Russia is able to give technical help and advice on problems which she herself has solved. Communism is able to appeal to Chinese nationalism and to present the imperialist, not the capitalist, as the real enemy. If the time comes when the nationalist trend conflicts with the demands of international Communism, it will lose much of its mass support. If China is treated as a satellite by Russia, the people themselves will soon discover it and react to it without prodding from abroad. The Chinese are very sensitive toward foreign countries and the question of Sino-Russian relationships should be left to work itself out.

The Communists are perfectly sincere in seeing the Far Eastern situation as a struggle for the liberation of colonial peoples from their imperialist masters. The Communist movements in Korea, Indo-China, the Philippines and Malaya are represented as national movements to overthrow foreign imperialism. For China to give moral and physical support seems natural, and is no more to be regarded as an act of aggression than are American attempts to foster the democratic way of life. The problem cannot be met merely by accusing China of aggression.

The great lesson of China is that military force alone or even economic aid is unable to stem the Communist tide. After the Second World War, military power was overwhelmingly on the side of the Kuomintang. Large-scale economic aid was supplied by UNRRA and American agencies. But because it was bankrupt of ideas and sought to maintain a corrupt regime, the Kuomintang lost whatever popular support it had.

So far the Communists are winning the battle of ideas in Asia. They are able to appeal to the strong force of nationalism by promising to sweep away every trace of Western influence and superiority in the Far East; they offer hope of new life for the great masses who live on or below the subsistence level, promising not merely enough to eat but to make them masters of society. It is a program of both material and spiritual aid, with all the force and sanction of a religion.

The answer to Communism must be equally powerful, meeting the people's national economic and spiritual needs. Greater risks must be taken in meeting their nationalist aspirations by granting real independence to the still subject peoples of Asia. Economic aid is vitally necessary, but instead of being used to bolster up outworn and discredited regimes, it must be accompanied by social planning to remove the grave injustices of a system in which the great mass of the peasants are in the grip of landlords and usurers. Economic aid should not be used to interfere in the internal affairs of backward and under-developed countries, but remedy of social abuses could be made a condition of its being granted. And we must state clearly what the democratic way of life is.

To tell the Chinese peasant that the American worker is much better off than the Russian worker makes little impression on him. He needs to be shown that the West has something to offer him, not only technical and economic aid but something to live for—a way which will satisfy his moral and spiritual needs. If Western civilization itself has lost its spiritual basis it has nothing to offer the East. But there alone is the answer to the enthusiasm, sacrifice and discipline of the Communist way of life.

When a country has already been swept under by the deluge of Communism it is too late to do anything about it. In the countries of the East where the issue is not yet decided, ideas will play a larger part than arms in determining the result.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMA vs. COUNTRY DOCTORS

by Ross E. Thomas

A TWENTY-YEAR running battle has broken out again between the Beckham (Okla.) County Medical Society and the Farmers Union Hospital Association at Elk City which operates the nation's first co-operative hospital. But this time the American Medical Association is on the defensive.

The co-operative is suing the medical society and its doctor members for $300,000, charging them collectively and individually with conspiring to destroy the hospital and to impose a professional boycott on its staff. The hospital has filed a list of alleged conspiratorial actions, which go back to 1931 when Syrian-born Dr. Michael Shadid founded what Oklahoma residents call "the best damned hospital between Amarillo and Oklahoma City."

Old Dr. Shadid retired and left the fight to his son, Dr. Fred Shadid, after vigorously battling the county's organized doctors for 15 years. Shortly after the hospital was founded, the county medical society disbanded and reformed, leaving Michael Shadid's name off its membership list. It was the society's legal way of handing Shadid his hat. They lost a round in the fight when a district judge refused to revoke Shadid's license to practise medicine.

During the 1930s, AMA pressure kept the New Deal's Resettlement Administration from using the hospital's facilities for 500 of Southwest Oklahoma's distressed farmers. It also has been instrumental in preventing the hospital from receiving funds from various state and national welfare agencies. When he took over the hospital's directorship in 1944, young Shadid started a movement to iron out the difficulties between the hospital and the medical society. He filed a formal application for membership. It was returned with a note saying that it had to be endorsed by two of the society's members. The doctors in the outlying towns told him, "We've got nothing against you boys, but we think you'd better get the Elk City doctors to do the endorsing; they're the ones your hospital affects." The Elk City doctors refused.

After repeated efforts, Shadid received a note from the secretary of the county society saying that his application would be taken up at the next meeting, but the secretary added that he personally "would never vote for your admission to the society until you practise medicine like the rest of us and quit tying people up with contracts to have a certain doctor or group of doctors. . . . Any county society can admit or deny membership as it pleases and to hell with any higher authority. Is this frank enough?"

It was. Shadid's application was turned down. Commenting on the letter's reference to "tying people up with contracts," Shadid said the hospital routes patients to the doctors best qualified to care for them. He added, however, "that any patient can choose any doctor for a family doctor, except, of course, the specialists."

Securing doctors is the hospital's most pressing problem. For a long time the best medium of recruiting—the want ads of the *Journal* of the AMA—was closed to the hospital. The Department of Justice finally stepped in, and the *Journal* is now accepting the hospital's ads. Although the financial reward is quite adequate, the knowledge of what the AMA can do to a young physician frightens away most medical school graduates.

If the hospital would drop its pre-payment plan—which is its lifeblood—a spokesman for the county society says that the co-op staff "shouldn't have too much trouble getting in." In other words, if Shadid would destroy the co-operative features it took 20 years to build, organized medicine would be willing to play ball. With these features, it costs members 25 cents to have a tooth pulled, $1.50 to have teeth cleaned; all medical examinations are free. Other prices are comparable.

"We have exhausted every avenue of reconciliation," Dr. Shadid says. "We even offered to let each doctor set up his own pre-payment plan and use our hospital's facilities—including its accounting system. They turned us down flat."

Already the AMA's familiar delaying tactics are evident. First the doctors' attorneys objected to the suit, maintaining that they were not legally served with a summons. This objection was later abandoned in favor of a motion to strike most of the important portions of the hospital's petition. A week before the motion was to be heard, the AMA lawyers came up with an application to disqualify Judge W. P. Keen on the grounds that he is biased and prejudiced in favor of the co-op hospital. The suit illustrates again the immense power vested in the nation's county medical societies. Without county-society sanction, no doctor is able to join his state medical association or the AMA. He is prevented from attending specialists or graduate medical schools, and he is even banned from the mailing lists of the current medical journals.

The judge who eventually considers this case will have the opportunity to hand down an opinion that will reach much farther than the Beckham County limits.

Ross Thomas is editor of the "Oklahoma Union Farmer."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW MUCH SACRIFICE FOR DEFENSE?

by Louis Walinsky

HERBERT HOOVER and Senator Taft claim that the kind of defense program President Truman has called for would bleed our economy white, if carried on over a period of years, and lead ultimately to internal collapse. "We might with stern measures avoid the economic disintegration of such a load for a very few years," Hoover declared in his speech of December 20. "If we continued long on this road, the one center of resistance in the world will collapse in economic disaster."

Is this calamitous counsel based on facts? Just how much economic sacrifice is involved for the American people in the defense program presently planned?

In his Economic Report of January 12, President Truman outlined the burden he believes the various economic groups will be called upon to bear in the present type of partial mobilization. Businessmen, he said, will have to pay much higher taxes and accept restraints and controls on many of their business practices not customary in peacetime. They cannot expect to retain a peacetime scale of profits either. Workers must seek out necessary jobs, rather than pleasant or convenient ones, and accept controls on wages. Together with management, they must find ways to settle disputes without stopping essential production. Farmers must carry their fair share of the added defense burden. All economic groups must pay higher taxes, and all American families must do with fewer durable goods, save a larger portion of their income, and possibly do without new homes.

The President has given us no real measure, however, of how hard we are going to be hit economically as individuals, or collectively as a people. It is possible to come much closer to what five years of partial mobilization, short of all-out war, would mean to the country by looking at the facts.

Our total national income at the end of 1950 was running at an annual rate of about $255 billion a year. Since military expenditures were then running at an annual rate of little more than $20 billion, the civilian sector of our economy was in the neighborhood of $235 billion. Military expenditures, it is estimated, will reach an annual rate of about $50 billion by the end of 1951 and may, even under partial mobilization, reach a rate of some $75 billion not too long thereafter. *This does not mean, however, that the civilian sector of our economy will be correspondingly reduced.* Total employment will increase with more women, retired workers, unemployed workers and physically-handicapped workers joining with the youth arriving of age to augment the labor force. Hours of work will be progressively expanded from the 41 or 42 hours now the average in manufacturing occupations to 45 or 46 hours per week. New plants, new equipment and new or improved technology will also contribute to increasing the national output considerably in the next few years.

According to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, we may anticipate an increase of about seven percent in total output by the end of this year, and an increase of about 25 percent in the next five years. Stated in terms of *current* dollars, this means a total national income rate of some $273 billion by the end of this year, and of about $320 billion five years hence. If we apply to these figures the assumed expansion of military expenditures, filling the gaps for the years in between, we get a picture that looks like this (figures in billions of current dollars, at annual rates):

	National Income	Military Expenditures	Civilian Residual
1950	255	20	235
1951	273	50	223
1952	290	70	220
1953	302	75	227
1954	312	75	237
1955	320	75	245

The expansion of military production will cut into the civilian sector of the economy, in *total* terms, only to the extent that military production grows faster than does total production. This will obviously be the case for a year or two under partial mobilization. Thereafter, however, military production should level off to a plateau, while total production continues to mount, so that before long the civilian sector of the economy should have regained its current level and should thereafter exceed it. Under these assumptions, the civilian sector of our economy would decline during the next two years to around $220 billion, a cut of about six percent; another year would reduce that cut to about three percent; the fourth year would see the restoration of the current level; and the fifth year would bring a real increase over current levels of civilian production. This broad analysis indicates that, so far as the overall civilian economy is concerned, the economic sacrifices involved in a

Louis Walinsky is director of the Labor Division of Robert R. Nathan Associates in Washington. A graduate of Cornell University, he has been economic consultant to the War Production Board and director of the Office of Economic Review and Analysis of the Civilian Production Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$75-billion-a-year defense program are minor indeed.

So broad a conclusion, however well warranted, tends to oversimplify the case. So inclusive a concept as "the national income" conceals within it a number of factors of great importance which require special attention. It is necessary, for example, to break down the national income and evaluate how much of it is likely to become individual or *personal* income; to assess how much of this personal income is likely to be available, after tax and other payments, for spending (*disposable* income); and to forecast what quantities of civilian goods and services are likely to be available for purchase with that disposable income.

We may be sure that personal incomes will expand, in the next five years, pretty much in line with the anticipated expansion in total national income, perhaps at a somewhat higher rate. We may be reasonably sure that higher taxes and other payments will prevent *disposable* personal incomes from rising as much.

Forecasts as to the total volume of goods and services likely to be available for purchase are more problematic. We may be certain that the volume of durable consumers' goods available for purchase will decline sharply, for some time at least. There seems good reason to anticipate, however, that the volume of non-durable consumers' goods and the volume of services available for purchase will expand moderately, even in the next year or two. The major question is: Will our program for the expansion of productive capacity in bottleneck industries like steel, aluminum, copper and electric power be carried through promptly in adequate degree, so that within two or three years we shall begin to be able to bring our overall expanded production into balance?

With these considerations, as well as our experiences in the last war, in mind, the size of total disposable income and its possible distribution pattern may be projected somewhat as follows for the five-year period ahead (all figures in billions of current dollars, at annual rates):

	Disposable Income	Personal Expenditures	Durable Goods	Non-Durables	Services	Personal Savings
1950	210.5	197	30.5	105.5	61	13.5
1951	217	190	15	110	65	27
1952	230	193	10	115	68	37
1953	240	205	15	120	70	35
1954	250	215	20	125	70	35
1955	255	225	30	125	70	30

All this suggests that: (a) consumers' disposable income will rise in the next five years from $210 billion to about $255 billion; (b) personal expenditures will decline moderately *in total* in the next two years, with a sharp reduction in expenditures for durable goods (automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.), counterbalanced in large part by increased expenditures for non-durable goods and for services; (c) personal savings should rise sharply for the next two years to almost three times the present level, tapering off somewhat thereafter, and providing a balancing factor between total disposable income and the total goods and services available; (d) total personal expenditures, after an initial moderate decline, will soon regain and surpass their current levels; and (e) the pattern of consumer expenditures may before long return to a normal distribution as between durables, non-durables and services.

There is, of course, nothing inevitable about the pattern of consumer expenditures and savings suggested here, especially where dollar quantities are involved. The only real question here is whether, after having bought everything on the market, consumers will have some of their dollars left in the form of savings. These figures underscore the necessity for a large-scale personal-savings program *even after the government's budget is brought into balance by much higher taxes than are now in effect.*

If this projection is approximately correct, and if we manage our industrial expansion intelligently, so that steel, aluminum, copper, power and other bottlenecks to balanced expansion are eliminated, the chief economic "sacrifice" in prospect under a partial mobilization is that we shall have to get along for two or three years without huge quantities of consumers' durable goods of which we have plentiful stocks now. And even these shortages will be counterbalanced in large part by a larger volume of "soft" goods and services.

What this overall picture will mean so far as particular economic groups are concerned obviously depends on our tax policies, credit policies, price controls, wage stabilization, expansion programs, materials allocations and every other major economic policy adopted by the government in the coming period. These programs will determine the distribution of the load. The principle of "equality of sacrifice" being demanded by organized labor must be followed or some groups may find their burden intolerable.

If the above analysis of our prospects is correct, however, there are no serious deprivations in store for the American people under the presently-planned defense program, and the facts seem to make a mockery of Mr. Hoover's fantastic claim that this kind of load must lead us to economic disaster.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Stealing the Middle West Blind*

SECRETARY of the Army Frank C. Pace Jr. has recently granted a permit which, if availed of, will result in the greatest possible damage to a very large and important area of the country. The permit may be likened to an operation for abortion upon a fully pregnant woman. It will destroy the incalculable potentiality of the Chicago Harbor lying at the mouth of the Chicago River, which flows into the Illinois River and then into the Mississippi River.

Of course, the proposed rape of the Chicago Harbor is pretended to be done in the name of progress and the public welfare. It is nothing of the sort. The interest served would be that of the great railroad lines which connect the Eastern seaboard with the Middle West. Operating on the model of Michelangelo's famous sculpture of Laocoön and his two sons, they are trying to strangle in serpents' coils the commercial growth that the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway would mean to the important and populous states that abut on the Great Lakes or drain into the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. These railroads are aided and abetted in their murderous purpose by the great commercial and financial interests that for years have used the New York and other Atlantic Coast harbors to wring tribute from the wide area extending from the Pennsylvania-Ohio boundary line to the Rocky Mountains.

The building of the seaway would make it possible for ocean-borne commerce to flow back and forth between Europe and the Middle West. This would mean lower shipping rates and lower prices. Considering the stakes involved, it is not strange that interests which have become powerful as the result of the toll that they have taken from the Middle West should leave nothing undone to assure the continuance of that toll.

There are more unexplained and interesting circumstances in connection with this officially-sanctioned raid upon the navigable Chicago Harbor than can be set down on this one page. What explains the silence, to date, of Chicago's outstanding mayor, Martin H. Kennelly? By what reasoning did that equally fine Governor of Illinois, Adlai E. Stevenson, sign a bill, enticed through a legislature of easy virtue, giving the consent of the state to the violation by Chicago of rights and interests that, according to Justice Field of the US Supreme Court (146 US 387, 455, 456), belong to "the whole people of the state of Illinois"? What of the atmosphere, and the results, of "hearings" held by the Army Engineers and the Under-Secretary of the Army?

The raid upon the Chicago Harbor is led, under assaulting headlines and editorials of Robert R. McCormick's Chicago *Tribune*, by Commissioner of Public Works Oscar E. Hewitt, for many years a valued, and doubtless a valuable, employee of Mr. McCormick. Another intemperate supporter of what is regarded by many as probably the last chance for graft on a big scale by insiders is Richard J. Finnegan of the Chicago *Sun-Times*. Mr. Finnegan was editor and publisher of the Chicago *Times* before it merged with Marshall Field's Chicago *Sun*. Mr. Field owns a substantial majority of the stock, and the paper itself is now edited by Marshall Field III. However, Mr. Finnegan seems to be able to resume his scepter when a sinister assault is to be made upon the public interest. This strange aberration on the part of the Messrs. Field, father and son, in view of their interest in the public welfare, is one of the strangest aspects of an enterprise that will not bear the light of day and which ought to be investigated by a competent Congressional committee. The Chicago Planning Commission, an official body appointed by the mayor, is on record as opposed to the venture.

The initial plan is to build a filtration plant on land to be filled in on 61 acres of the 475 acres of the navigable waters within the Chicago Harbor. The submerged land is to be a free gift, via the ever open-handed Army Engineers, from the taxpayers of the United States without their consent, although it is said on good authority to be worth $8 per square foot or approximately $20 million. Here is a smooth, under-the-table financial deal that ought to interest Sen. Harry F. Byrd. Equally, it ought to interest every Senator and Representative from Illinois and surrounding states who has any reasonable regard for the welfare and prosperity of his own constituency, or any disposition to guard property belonging to all of the people. By all means, the Northside of Chicago and the territory surrounding Cook County ought to have the purest water Lake Michigan can supply, but the Chicago Harbor site is not the only possible one for a filtration plant which will loom several stories high and thus mar, as with a great scar, the magnificent lake front which Chicago has always boasted gives it one of the most beautiful settings of any great city in the world.

Chicago can have its pure water without destroying potentially great commercial values, to say nothing of existing esthetic values, by building such a monstrous eyesore as the filtration plant would constitute.

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE SCOTT FITZGERALD STORY

by Malcolm Cowley

WE ARE HEARING more and more about F. Scott Fitzgerald as a representative of the golden twenties, about which we are also hearing more and more. Fitzgerald's personal tragedy has been romanticized in Budd Schulberg's best-selling novel, *The Disenchanted* (Random House; $3.50). His life from year to year has now been set down in Arthur Mizener's documented biography, *The Far Side of Paradise* (Houghton Mifflin; $4), and the subject of the biography turns out to be a more impressive character than the hero of the novel. I should like to retell his story briefly, with a different emphasis from Mizener's and with a little more attention to the moral atmosphere of the period in which Fitzgerald flourished and declined.

Let us start with the early spring of 1919, when First Lieutenant Fitzgerald was discharged from the Regular Army without having seen service overseas. He was then twenty-two years old and his first novel, *The Romantic Egotist*, had been rejected by Scribner's, with letters from Maxwell Perkins that showed great interest in his future work. He was engaged to Zelda Sayre, whose father was a judge of the Alabama Supreme Court, but they couldn't marry until Fitzgerald was able to support her and so he went to New York to look for a job.

The job he found was with the Barron Collier advertising agency and his pay started at $90 a month, with not much chance of rapid advancement; the only praise he received was for a slogan written for a steam laundry in Muscatine, Iowa: "We Keep You Clean in Muscatine." He was trying to save money, but the girl in Alabama saw that the effort was hopeless and broke off the engagement on the score of common sense. Fitzgerald borrowed money from his Princeton classmates, stayed drunk for three weeks and then went home to St. Paul to rewrite his novel under a new title. This time Scribner's accepted it and the book was published at the end of March, 1920.

This Side of Paradise was a very young man's novel and memory book. The author put into it samples of everything he had written until that time: short stories, poems, essays, fragments of autobiography, sketches and dialogues. Some of the material had already been printed in the *Nassau Literary Magazine*, so that his friends described the book as the collected works of F. Scott Fitzgerald. It also had suggestions of being the collected works of Compton Mackenzie and H. G. Wells, with more than a hint of *Stover at Yale*; but for all its faults and borrowings it was held together by its energy, honesty, self-confidence and it spoke in the voice of a new generation. His contemporaries recognized the voice as their own and his elders listened.

Suddenly the magazines were eager to print Fitzgerald's stories and willing to pay high prices for them. The result shows in the big ledger in which he kept a record of his career: in 1919 he earned $879 by his writing; in 1920 he earned—and spent—$18,850. Early success had been added to everything else that made him stand out as a representative of his generation; and Fitzgerald himself was beginning to believe in his representative quality. He was learning that when he wrote truly about his dreams and misadventures and discoveries, other people recognized themselves in the picture.

The point has to be made that Fitzgerald was not "typical" of his own age or any other. He lived harder than most people have ever lived and acted out his dreams with an extraordinary intensity of emotion. The dreams themselves were not at all unusual; in the beginning they were dreams of becoming a football star and a big man in college, of being a hero on the battlefield, of winning through to financial success and of getting the top girl; they were the commonplace aspirations shared by almost all the young men of his time and social class. It was the emotion he put into them, and the honesty with which he expressed the emotion, that made them seem distinguished. By feeling intensely he made his readers believe in the unique value of the world in which they lived. Years afterward he would say, writing in the third person, that the Jazz Age "bore him up, flattered him and gave him more money than he had dreamed of, simply for telling people that he felt as they did."

At the beginning of April, 1920, Zelda came to New York and they were married in the rectory of St. Patrick's Cathedral—although Zelda's family was Episcopalian and Scott had ceased to be a good Catholic. They set up housekeeping at the Biltmore. To their bewilderment they found themselves adopted, not as a Midwesterner and a Southerner respectively, not even as detached observers, but—Scott afterward wrote—"as the arch type of what New York wanted." Arthur Mizener in his biography has vividly recreated that year of the happy whirlwind. A new age was beginning and Scott and Zelda were venturing into it innocently, hand in hand. Zelda said, "It was always teatime or late at night." Scott said, "We felt like small children in a great bright unexplored barn."

Scott also said, "America was going on the greatest, gaudiest spree in history and there was going to be plenty to tell about it." There is still plenty to tell about it, in the light of a new age that is curious about the 1920s and persistently misjudges them. The gaudiest spree in history was also a moral revolt, and beneath the revolt there were social transformations. The 1920s were the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

age when a *production* ethic—of saving and self-denial in order to accumulate capital for new enterprises—gave way to a *consumption* ethic that was needed to provide markets for new products endlessly streaming from the production lines. Instead of being told to save, people were being instructed in a thousand ways to buy, enjoy, use once and throw away in order to buy a later and more expensive model. They followed the instructions on the wrapper, with the result that more goods were produced and consumed and money was easier to earn than ever before. "The Jazz Age now raced along under its own power," Fitzgerald said, "served by great filling stations full of money. . . . Even when you were broke you didn't worry about money, because it was in such profusion around you."

That helps to explain the background of the 1920s and their sense of reckless freedom, but it tells us little about the figures in the foreground. The members of Fitzgerald's generation were not interested at the time in underlying social trends any more than they were interested in local or international politics. What they felt in their hearts was that they had made an absolute break with the standards of the older generation. There was not the sharp distinction between highbrow and lowbrow (or liberal and conservative) that would later divide American society; in those days the real gulf was between the young and the old. The younger set paid few visits to their parents' homes and some of them hardly exchanged a social word with men or women over forty. The elders were suspected of being stuffy, and besides they had made a mess of the world; they were discredited in younger eyes by the war, by Prohibition, by the Red scare of 1919-20, by Teapot Dome and the little green house on K Street. So much the better: the youngsters had a free field in which to test their own standards of the good life.

Those standards were simple and almost savage. The spokesmen for the new generation recognized the value of food, travel, love and intoxication, the value of honest craftsmanship—when they had time for it—and the value of truth; absolutely anything seemed excusable if one simply told the truth about it. They liked to say yes to every proposal that promised excitement. Will you take a new job, throw up the job, go to Paris and starve, travel round the world in a freighter? Will you get married, leave your husband, spend a week-end for two in Biarritz? Will you ride around New York on the roof of a taxi and then take a bath in the Plaza fountain? "WYBMADIITY?" read a sign on the mirror behind the bar of the Dizzy Club. Late at night you asked the bartender what it meant and he answered, "Will you buy me a drink if I tell you?" The answer was yes, always yes, and the fictional heroine of the 1920s was Serena Blandish, the girl who couldn't say no. Or the heroine was Joyce's Molly Bloom as she dreamed about her first lover:

> . . . and I thought well as well him as another and then I asked him with my eyes to ask again yes and then he asked me would I yes to say yes my mountain flower and first I put my arms around him yes and drew him down to me so he could feel my breasts all perfume yes and his heart was going like mad and yes I said yes I will Yes.

The masculine ideal of the 1920s was what Fitzgerald calls "the old dream of being an entire man in the Goethe-Byron-Shaw tradition, with an opulent American touch, a sort of combination of J. P. Morgan, Topham Beauclerk and St. Francis of Assisi." The entire man would be one who "did everything," good and bad, who realized all the potentialities of his nature and thereby achieved wisdom. The entire man, in the 1920s, was the one who followed the Rule of the Thelemites as revealed to Pantagruel: *Fais ce que vouldras,* "Do what you will." But that rule implied a second imperative, like an echo: "Will!" To be admired by the 1920s young men had to will all sorts of actions and had to possess enough energy and recklessness to carry out even their whims.

They lived in the moment with what they liked to call "an utter disregard of consequences." In spirit they all made pilgrimages to the Abbey of Thelema; they consulted the oracle of the Divine Bottle and, like Pantagruel, they received for answer the one word *Trinch.* They obeyed the oracle and drank, in those days "of Sumner Volstead Christ and Co." when drinking was a rite of comradeship and an act of rebellion. As Fitzgerald would say in a story, they drank "cocktails before meals like Americans, wines and brandies like Frenchmen, beer like Germans, whiskey-and-soda like the English . . . this preposterous *mélange* that was like some gigantic cocktail in a nightmare." They drank and they also worked, with something of the same desperation; they worked to earn social rank, to sell, to advertise, to organize, to invent and to create enduring works of art. In ten years they gave a new tempo to American society.

The 1920s were a good age for works of art and in some ways they were a bad age for artists as persons. The works of art have come down to us and we are now finding again how honest and impressive they are in their often fragmentary fashion. Some of the artists have also survived while others have gone under; in general the age did not encourage them to develop steadily or to achieve unified careers. The age is now being blamed for the relative failures of Fitzgerald and others like him, but a great deal of the talk is sentimental. They did not fail as artists or we should not be rereading their works. If they failed in their personal lives it was not because they were victims of the historical environment; it was—among other reasons—because they acted on dangerous principles which happened to be those of the age, but which they also took into themselves and accepted as their own. In that sense they succumbed like the age itself, not so much to the pressure of exterior forces as by inner necessity.

Fitzgerald not only represented the age but came to suspect that he had helped to create it, by setting the patterns of conduct that would be followed by persons a little younger than himself. "If I had anything to do with creating the manners of the contemporary American girl I certainly made a botch of the job," he said in a 1925 letter. In his notebook he observed that one of his relatives was still a flapper in the 1930s. "There is no doubt that she originally

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patterned herself upon certain immature and unfortunate writings of mine," he added, "so that I have a special indulgence for —— as for one who has lost an arm or a leg in one's service." But Fitzgerald himself was the principal victim of his capacity for creating fictional types in life. "Sometimes," he told a visitor late at night, "I don't know whether Zelda and I are real or whether we are characters in one of my novels."

That was in the spring of 1933, a few weeks after the banks had closed all over the country. The Fitzgeralds were living at La Paix, a brown wooden late-Victorian lodge on a thirty-acre estate near Baltimore—"La Paix (my God!)," Scott wrote at the head of a letter. In the afternoon the house had been filled with little sounds of life—the colored cook and her relatives arguing in the kitchen, Zelda talking to her nurse or rustling about her studio as she painted furiously, Scott somewhere in a back room dictating to his secretary, then their daughter coming home from school and playing under the big oak trees on the lawn. Zelda wasn't well enough to come down to dinner but the visitor was taken to see her afterward; her face was emaciated and twitched as she talked and her mouth twisted into unhappy shapes. (She was a tragic person and bore not the least resemblance to the hero's wife in *The Disenchanted*.)

After dinner the sounds of life died away from the house. Little Scottie was put to bed, the cook and her friends went home, Zelda had to rest and big Scott wandered from room to room with a glass in his hand, explaining that it was water; then, as he started another trip to refill the glass in the kitchen, he confessed that it was gin. There was not enough furniture, there were no carpets to absorb the inhuman noises of the night. Everything creaked and echoed. The visitor sat alone in the one big chair in the almost empty living room and thought that the house was the perfect setting for a ghost story, with Scott and Zelda as ghosts, the golden boy of 1920 and the belle of two states. Their generation had been defeated by life—so it seemed at the time—and yet in their own defeat they were still its representative figures.

During the years 1935 and 1936, while Zelda was in a sanitarium, Fitzgerald suffered from a complete physical and emotional breakdown. It was never a secret and Fitzgerald described it at the time, in "The Crack-Up" and two other articles printed by *Esquire* in the spring of 1936. The articles revealed the intimate worries of an author who had come to regard himself "as a cracked plate, the kind that one wonders whether it is worth preserving. . . . It can never again be warmed on the stove nor shuffled with the other plates in the dishpan; it will not be brought out for company, but it will do to hold crackers late at night or to go into the ice-box under left-overs."

The causes of the breakdown are not mysterious and Arthur Mizener has described them understandingly in *The Far Side of Paradise*. The symptoms were described by Fitzgerald himself and they were excruciatingly painful, but not unusual. We have been living through an age of emotional breakdowns. By now the case records of brilliant men, hundreds and thousands of them, who have gone to pieces are available to physicians and there is nothing suffered by Fitzgerald that has not been Greek-named and catalogued in the medical textbooks. There are, however, two features of his experience that make it something more than a commonplace case history. The first feature is the unusual candor with which he wrote about it. He was, it is true, a little less than completely honest about his alcoholism, but that is a symptom of the disease itself and one he tried hard to overcome. He revealed everything else, on condition that it did not hurt others but only himself.

"In a real dark night of the soul," he wrote, "it is always three o'clock in the morning, day after day." There is a time in such a night when a man keeps his sanity by force of will or loses it by what amounts to a deliberate decision. Fitzgerald did not retreat into dreams or delusions or any other substitutes for the maternal womb. There was a hard core in his character that kept him from denying his obligations to his family and his creditors and his talent as an artist. He met the obligations, and that is the second truly remarkable feature of Fitzgerald's case: not his symptoms or his sufferings, but his sense of duty and his will to survive.

He had suffered a permanent defeat and he did not try to hide its consequences from himself or the world. "A man does not recover from such jolts," he said in one of his articles for *Esquire* —"he becomes a different person and, eventually, the new person finds new things to care about." In the summer of 1937 the new person was strong enough to make a trip to Hollywood. Fitzgerald had been given a six months' contract by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, and when the contract expired in January, 1938, it was renewed for a year at an increased salary. He was drinking very little and proved to be a capable screen craftsman, although his best scenarios were not produced in the form in which he wrote them. During his first eighteen months in Hollywood he earned $88,391, paid off his big debts and put his insurance policies in order.

The Fitzgerald story is not a simple one of moral redemption and success in a new field. At the beginning of February, 1939, a week after the M-G-M contract ran out, he was sent East by Walter Wanger; with the help of Budd Schulberg he was to write a film about the Dartmouth Winter Carnival. He began drinking on the eastbound plane, got into a violent dispute with Wanger and continued drinking at Dartmouth and in New York; it was his biggest, blackest spree and quite as desperate as anything in Schulberg's novel. But it wasn't his end, even though it was the end of the hero of *The Disenchanted*; Fitzgerald's story went on.

He went back to Hollywood, where he couldn't find another job and suspected that the producers had put his name on an informal blacklist. He took to his bed; for three months he was under the care of day and night nurses. It was a recurrence of tuberculosis, he told his friends (who rightly suspected a recurrence of alcoholism), and it was complicated by "a nervous breakdown of such severity that for a long time it threatened to paralyze both arms—or to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quote the doctor: 'The Good Lord tapped you on the shoulder'." After a partial recovery in the summer he faced another crisis to which he referred obliquely in his letters—and still it wasn't the end of the story.

He began to get hold of himself again. The Hollywood friends who saw him in the winter of 1939-40 report that he was gray-faced and emaciated and seldom left his room, but he was back at his writing—if only for a few hours each day—and that was the important news. Now that his name was almost forgotten, he was setting out to regain his place in literature.

His record of production for the last year of his life would have been remarkable for a man in perfect health. He began the year by making plans for a novel and, simultaneously, by writing twenty stories for *Esquire,* including seventeen in the Pat Hobby series. Most of the Hobby stories weren't good by his own standards, but they caught the Hollywood atmosphere and made fun of the author's weaknesses, thereby proving that Fitzgerald hadn't lost his ironic attitude toward himself (and it is the irony most of all that is lacking in Schulberg's portrait). Suddenly he resumed his interrupted correspondence with his friends and he sent his daughter an extraordinary series of letters that can be read as a sort of personal and literary testament.

In the spring he wrote — and twice rewrote from the beginning—a scenario based on his story "Babylon Revisited"; it was the best of his scenarios and, according to the producer who ordered it, the best he had ever read. Shirley Temple wasn't available for the part of Honoria and the story has never been filmed. Again Fitzgerald began drinking, but then he sobered up and went to work for a studio in September, earning enough, he thought, to carry him through the writing of *The Last Tycoon.* Work on it was delayed by a serious heart attack in November, but for most of the month he was writing steadily.

He had said in a letter to his daughter, "I wish now I'd *never* relaxed or looked back—but said at the end of *The Great Gatsby*: 'I've found my line—from now on this comes first. This is my immediate duty—without this I am nothing'." In the year 1940 he had found his line again—and had found something more than that, since he now possessed a deeper sense of the complexities of life than he had when writing *Gatsby.* He was doing his best work of the year in December and it was some of the best he ever did. He had been sober for a long time and seemed to be less worried about illness, when suddenly, four days before Christmas, there was a second coronary attack and he died —not like a strayed reveler but like a partner of the elder J. P. Morgan, working too hard until his heart gave out.

The novels and stories he left behind him compose an informal history of two decades in American life, or rather of one decade with its long aftermath. But his work does more than merely speak for his time, since it also speaks for the author; and taken as a whole it forms a sort of journal of his career. It was a different career from the one we had expected to find after reading his first books and hearing about his decline. What seems important in it now is not the early success and not the neglect and heartbreak of his later years, and not even the contrast between them that lends an easy point to other men's novels; it is above all the struggle against defeat and the sort of qualified triumph he earned by the struggle. Fitzgerald remains an exemplar and archetype, but not of the 1920s alone; in the end he represents the human spirit in one of its permanent forms.

HISTORY OF THE LAW

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN LAW: THE LAW MAKERS, by James Willard Hurst (Little, Brown; $5.50).

THE HISTORY of American legal institutions does not sound like lively reading. In the hands of Professor Hurst, of the University of Wisconsin Law School, it is just that. Despite the subtitle, this book is not primarily biographical. It is rather a sketch of the development of the organs of government, federal and state: the legislature; the constitutional conventions; the courts; the bar; and the executive. Instead of a tedious record of changes in form and structure, Professor Hurst offers a discriminating appraisal of those institutional devices that prevailed because they were shaped to meet real needs, and of those that withered because they were blindly copied or framed to meet purely theoretical preconceptions.

In telling this story, Hurst assembles conveniently a mass of scattered materials, some of them not widely accessible, which no observer of the American scene should be without. One example of the usefulness of the book is the compact review of the historical background of legislative investigations. This history should be carefully weighed by anyone interested in reforming current abuses. Other issues on which light is thrown are: reform in the methods of selecting judges; the chances of improving legislative performance; the apportionment struggles in the states, particularly those between city and county.

Discussion of the bar occupies the largest section of the book. Perhaps the section is too long in terms of the relative importance of the bar and the other institutions discussed. But Professor Hurst can be forgiven, because this section makes the most absorbing reading, thanks largely to the greater emphasis on colorful individuals. The deficiencies in the contribution of the bar to the community as a whole are judiciously but unsparingly set forth. Hurst warns us that in passing judgment upon lawyers as a class, we must remember that they have reflected the going values of their times. But he also observes that a sound basis for criticism of the legal profession may be found in measuring its performance against its avowed ideals: "It asserted an independence and a leadership in the public interest which in practice it had abdicated during most of the years after 1870."

Incidentally, at dozens of points in the book Professor Hurst is forced to suspend judgment because of lack of detailed information as to the actual past work of state legislatures and courts. Here are abundant topics for PH.D. theses in political science, theses

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which the writers can tackle with the rare and happy assurance that their research, if sound, will be used.

JACOB D. HYMAN

Jacob D. Hyman is professor of Law at the University of Buffalo Law School. He has practised law in New York City and with the government in Washington.

BLACK MAGIC

THE PENCIL OF GOD, by Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin (Houghton Mifflin; $2.50).

FEW COUNTRIES are more strange or more remote in manners and in mood from the common ways of Western man than Haiti, geographically—and only geographically—at our doorstep. Most writers who have attempted to get under modern Haiti's dark, resistant skin have had the disagreeable sensation of feeling the probes of their mind, their curiosity and their understanding, blunted. Like medieval anatomists who were not permitted to dissect, outsiders have had to confine themselves largely to externals—blind men describing an elephant. *The Pencil of God* is by two brothers of a cultivated Haitian family who, remarkably, have managed to replant their roots in common earth. Here, in a short novel of almost classic form, is Haiti seen through neither end of a literary telescope, but at eye level.

Diogène, protagonist far more than hero, is a small trader in the hot, dust-stricken little city of St. Marc, a man of some substance and much lust. With ingenious contrivance he effects a seduction. In his easy scheme of things it is intended to be no more than one of dozens like it. But this time some thread in the warp of his destiny is pulled awry. Diogène makes enemies. Against his will and better sense he is drawn into the whirlpool which in Haiti lies around every bend of the deceptively placid stream of daily life. On the surface, it is no more than gossip that sets the forces of the nether world in motion and whips them on. But Diogène, gradually yet inevitably, is destroyed. To readers who know nothing of Voodoo, it carries the conviction of a dream; yet let your viewpoint shift by ever so little and you would swear that here is realism as literal as sweat.

The white Catholic priest whose chief task—today, mind you—is the exorcism of evil spirits, who wars with Voodoo on not quite equal terms; the wife possessed, and freed of her possession by witchcraft at so much a visit; the intensely pious mother-in-law who believes none—and all—of it, are as familiar figures in the bright Haitian landscape as barefoot loungers in the *Gran' Marché*.

The brothers Marcelin preside over their bubbling cauldron with the eyes and ears of their native Haiti and the surgical detachment of their all-but-native France. They have produced a fascinating book.

JOHN W. VANDERCOOK

John W. Vandercook, novelist, explorer and radio news commentator, is the author, among other books, of "Tom-Tom," "Black Majesty" and "Dark Islands."

THE GOOD BANKER

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE DOLLAR, by Herbert Feis (Johns Hopkins Press; $2.25).

HERBERT FEIS tries to tell us in this little book what he means by dollar diplomacy. He rejects the long-accepted notion that equated this term with imperialism and tries to demonstrate that dollars can be used to strengthen effectively the American position in world politics on a level somewhat higher than that attributed to us in the years between the two world wars. In fact, says he, even then American diplomacy did not serve private interests. Loans to foreign nations at no time received official endorsement and there was some definition of policy as far back as 1922. Unfortunately, as the author wryly concedes, official American policy tended to be muddle-headed, and when the cataclysm of the thirties hit, no clear and firm leadership could be offered to a world in stress.

Mr. Feis should know his material; he was at one time economic adviser to the State Department. He makes use of some documentation, but it is official output only, and gives his writing that indecisive quality characteristic of "officialese." The result is a lack of substance, a somewhat attenuated argument.

The evidence presented to bolster the view that the State Department always displayed a Jovian impartiality in international economics is drawn from our experience with French loans after the First World War, the Caribbean (where, says Feis, we were both friend and tutor to small republics), Japanese South Manchurian bonds, Weimar Republic securities and Mosul oil fields. This experience, we are told, revealed an inadequate foreign policy and while we seem to have made some progress in recent years, it is more than possible that the old errors will be repeated. Modern dollar diplomacy, urges Mr. Feis, must be constructive. Aside from domestic prosperity, preparedness and a demonstration to our foreign friends that ours is not merely a material way of life, he does not specify the constructive qualities he has in mind.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

Ben B. Seligman, economist and statistician, was formerly on the faculty of Brooklyn College. He is currently engaged in population research.

How Can We Stop The Russians And Still Stay Solvent

POLICY FOR THE WEST

By **BARBARA WARD**

Author of **THE WEST AT BAY**

"Lucid, persuasive, and urgent. . . . A brilliant performance."—J. B. BREBNER, *The Nation*

"Nothing could be more refreshing than this summation, supported by figures . . . demonstration that the job can be done."—A. A. BERLE, JR., *N. Y. Times Book Review*

"The best advice yet received from anyone on what to do about thunder on the left . . . shrewd and bold counsel."—GEORGE SOULE, *N. Y. Post*

2nd Printing

At all bookstores • $3.75

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, N. Y. 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUSIC: Return of Flagstad

UNIFORMED POLICEMEN patrolled the sidewalks outside the Metropolitan Opera House and plain-clothes men mingled with the patrons inside on the evening of January 22, when Kirsten Flagstad returned to the stage on which she had last appeared nearly ten years ago. Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde" was again the opera, as it had been on April 12, 1941, when she sang her last performance in New York before returning to her husband in Norway. There was no need to invoke the protection of the law, however, for no demonstrations interfered with the performance.

Back in the operatic environment in which her heroic voice belongs, Flagstad sang gloriously. At fifty-six, she naturally no longer sings all the time with the almost superhuman ease and faultless tone placement she manifested when she was younger. In this "Tristan" performance an occasional note lost some of its resonance or slipped out of focus, and a few times—possibly because of the emotional strain of the occasion—her voice became noticeably tired. But with these minor exceptions the solemn majesty and trumpetlike sonority of her delivery were undiminished; she was still able to hurl out Isolde's high C with careless grandeur and to end the Liebestod with a pianissimo of the sort that haunts the memory.

As an interpreter, Flagstad has grown immeasurably since she last sang in opera in New York. In former years, she rested her case principally upon her unrivaled vocal powers. Now she has become a distinguished actress. The stiff gaucherie of her stage movement has given way to fluent and picturesque plastique, and her acting has achieved an unbroken line of characterization, enriched by a multitude of new and apposite details of gesture and bodily expression. An enormously increased range of tone color and verbal inflection more than compensated for any momentary losses of spontaneity in her singing. When Flagstad sang here before I was a half-hearted enthusiast, for she seemed to me to be a great vocalist but not a great artist. This time I found her a great artist as well.

The audience left the soprano in no doubt about the heartiness of its welcome. At the rise of the curtain Thomas Hayward's sailor song was smothered by applause, as she was revealed on Isolde's shipboard couch; and after the demonstration died down, a gallery enthusiast screamed, "Welcome back!" There were nineteen first-act curtain calls, and a comparable number at the end.

Considerably more mixed emotions were aroused a few nights earlier by a Metropolitan double bill containing new productions of Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana" and Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci." The presentation of this pair of blood-curdling operas, known in the trade as "ham and eggs," flouted at a thousand points the conventions of staging in which they have long been frozen in nearly every opera house in the world. A measure of the conservatism of the Metropolitan's constituency—including Olin Downes of the *Times* and Virgil Thomson of the *Herald Tribune*—was given by the extent to which the productions were criticized merely because they were not like the ones we were accustomed to. One long-time operagoer, observing that the church in "Cavalleria Rusticana" had been shifted to the opposite side of the stage (with no damage to the logic of the action), summarized these reactions when he remarked to me with strong feelings, "I like the church to be on the right side."

The productions were not ideal, but the Metropolitan hardly deserved a pummeling because it had dared to reassess the theatrical values of two fifty-year-old potboilers. Hans Busch, the young régisseur whose stage direction has made the operatic performances at Indiana University among the most distinguished in the country, undertook his first Metropolitan assignment with "Cavalleria Rusticana." Without departing basically from the realistic manner in which the opera traditionally has been given, he sharpened the action and gave it believable continuity by teaching the singers to eliminate windmill gestures and to look as if they meant what they were saying, and he devised a handsome processional to accompany the Easter music. A few details were inconsistent or out of focus, but the performance as a whole achieved fresh impact.

Max Leavitt, who won his operatic spurs as director of Lemonade Opera, dealt more radically with "Pagliacci." Never having seen the opera, he had no idea how the customers thought it ought to look. Because the impoverished management had only $4,000 to spend on a setting, Leavitt devised a quasi-abstract treatment that centered upon a platform in the middle of the stage—in the 1925 German manner — and relieved the bleakness by festooning *commedia dell' arte* characters around the principals. In view of the clear statement of Tonio in the prologue that the opera is intended to be "a slice of life," Leavitt's treatment failed to persuade me that the naturalistic style is not the right one for "Pagliacci." But I honored his self-dependence and resourcefulness, even if he did submit us to a type of stagecraft that has long since outlived its usefulness in the legitimate theatre. CECIL SMITH

MOVIES

Hollywood in Korea

THE HOLLYWOOD GIs have put on a burst of speed and caught up with their comrades in arms of the US Army; "The Steel Helmet" is the first battle picture to turn the war in Korea to commercial advantage. Except for that, and perhaps for the degree of its savagery, it is built on what is now a pattern. A group of combat "characters," isolated from the main body of troops, exhibits a number of readily-photographed eccentricities, displays the lovable independence of spirit characteristic of GIs, philosophizes shrewdly about the war and from time to time kills impressive numbers of the enemy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The ability of the average movie soldier to express himself on international ethics and world strategy, particularly when pinned down by hot enemy fire, is impressive and encouraging. These men, at least, know why they are fighting. "The Steel Helmet" is also modish in that it carefully represents our minority groups (in this case a Negro and a Chinese American) and permits them to acquit themselves valorously in defense of a country for which they express strong approval. I am always made uncomfortable by the suggestion that we should be pleasantly surprised to learn that a Negro, a Jew or any other non-Caucasian is a brave soldier and a loyal citizen.

Like the other recent war pictures, "The Steel Helmet" wears a bitter and unheroic mask. Nevertheless, it is a romantic description of war—romantic in its rewarding human relationships, in the invincibility of American prowess, in the suggestion that the misery, fear and agony are somehow necessary and profitable. Men you have come to like die in this picture but they are revenged (to the tune of a hundred to one in a preposterous scene of mass slaughter) and their souls go marching on.

The hero of "The Steel Helmet" is a newcomer, Gene Evans, who plays a battle-calloused sergeant strongly modeled on Louis Wolheim of "All Quiet on the Western Front." This dirty, brutal, snarling military animal has as mascot a little South Korean boy whom he starts by calling a gook and ends by loving as a son (this sort of thing is called propaganda when our opponents resort to it). Despite his violently-expressed disapproval of officers and his professed indifference to everything except the safety of his own skin, Sergeant Zack becomes the mother hen of a green patrol commanded by an excessively obnoxious first lieutenant. It is in this central character that "The Steel Helmet" most clearly belies its overt realism: Sergeant Zack is blood brother to Hector and Ajax. Of the supporting actors, James Edwards, who played the lead in "Home of the Brave," is the most capable.

The danger of competing with one's own legend must have occurred to Harold Lloyd as he toyed with the notion of coming back; what decided him to do so may have been the belief that the brilliantly eccentric director, Preston Sturges, would help him to challenge successfully our memory of his superb slapstick acrobatics. But no. "Mad Wednesday" is like an old car on a cold morning. It sputters to life from time to time and Sturges and Lloyd then frantically feed it gas, but after a couple of encouraging hiccups it dies again. Except for a few bright moments and for the prologue lifted from his famous "The Freshman," Lloyd presents the melancholy spectacle of a former champion showing a group of embarrassed youngsters the now-obsolete style that won him glory.

For what it is—a hopped-up yarn of gangbusting with Humphrey Bogart in his familiar role of the crusading but gun-happy DA—"The Enforcer" is a good enough blood bath. Bretaigne Windust guides it through a series of flashbacks within flashbacks with sleight-of-hand competence, he makes the garish characters walk through the purple plot with at least surface plausibility and he has supervised a production that is well-staged and well-photographed. That is all that can be asked in the circumstances, but why one of Broadway's most highly-respected and influential directors should consent to work on a routine slaughterhouse assignment is a puzzle. I also wonder why Senator Estes Kefauver was moved to appear in a foreword recommending the picture to us as an example of American democracy at work. If this is the way American democracy works we are going to be a sadly depopulated country.

"The Enforcer" is another treatment of Murder, Inc., this time with overtones of megalomania, schizophrenia, manic depression, nervous exhaustion and cretinism that should have made the enforcement authorities' job much easier than it proved to be. A murder gang that will hire Zero Mostel as an assistant killer has a poor chance for survival.

ROBERT HATCH

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

BOOKS

save 40% on books in
PSYCHOANALYSIS
PSYCHOLOGY
CHILD GUIDANCE

Write for information on our MONEY-SAVING direct mail book service, and for the FREE Basic Books News and Bibliography listing the outstanding new 1951 books in these fields. Do it today.

BASIC BOOKS, INC., DEPT. R-F
357 Bleecker St., New York 14, N.Y.

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

CONTOUR SERIES: editions of original movie librettos. First issue, "The Old Easterday House." Romance linking old Chicago with the new. Send one dollar to Hill Press, 1108 Madison, Maywood, Ill.

FOREIGN BOOKS

FOREIGN BOOKS obtained promptly and at reasonable cost from our agents in 12 countries. Write for our catalog. Whyte Bookshop, 1518 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 8602, Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

ALL LANGUAGES BY RECORDS. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought; rented inexpensively. **Alin, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York, Mu 3-1093.**

PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

Public Relations in the Nation's Capital; a full range of services including counsel, surveys and research, promotion and publicity. Charles Alldredge, Kellogg Bldg., Washington 4, D. C.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPT typing, theses, medical articles, specifications. Speed, intelligence, economy. **AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street, New York. Plaza 5-1127.**

WANTED TO RENT

Roomy, summer house, 1½ hours New York, near town. Reasonable. Box 16, The New Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coming February 26

A special 8-page section

TELEVISION and EDUCATION

On January 23 there was held in Washington, under the Chairmanship of Saul Carson, Radio-Television Editor of the *New Republic*, and in cooperation with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, a panel discussion on television and education.

Because of the great and immediate importance of the subject and the prominence and standing of those taking part, a tape recording of the proceedings was made, as well as a stenotyped report. The tape recording will be edited and used for broadcasts over educational radio stations throughout the country. The stenotype minutes, edited by Saul Carson, will appear as a special eight-page section in the February 26 issue of the *New Republic*.

In radio, the Federal Communications Commission refused to reserve special frequencies for non-commercial educational broadcasters on the standard (AM) bands, but did set aside 20 percent of all frequency modulation (FM) channels for such purposes. Now, a drive is underway to reserve 25 percent of all television channels for non-commercial, educational broadcasters.

For a complete understanding of the problems involved and for an appraisal of the great issues at stake, read this special section.

Those taking part were:

SAUL CARSON, Chairman, Radio-Television Editor, the New Republic

FRIEDA B. HENNOCK, Member, Federal Communications Commission

THAD H. BROWN, JR., Counsel, Television Broadcasters Association

FRANKLIN DUNHAM, Chief of Radio, United States Office of Education

ROBERT HUDSON, Director, University Broadcasting; and Chairman, Radio Division in School of Journalism, University of Illinois

BURTON PAULU, Manager, University of Minnesota Radio Station KUOM, and Secretary of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters

GEORGE PROBST, Director of Radio, University of Chicago, and Professor of Social Science; Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters

SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL, President, National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Director of Communications, New York City

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN, Professor of Education, and Chairman, Department of Communications, New York University

DALLAS W. SMYTHE, Director of Studies, National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Professor, University of Illinois

BRIG.-GEN. TELFORD TAYLOR, Counsel, Joint Committee on Educational Broadcasting

I. KEITH TYLER, Professor of Education, and Director, Radio Education, Ohio State University; Chairman, Joint Committee on Educational Television

If you are a subscriber, renew. If not a subscriber, order now.

Armed Service Order Form

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

For the enclosed $4.00 please enter an annual subscription in my name at the special Armed Service rate of $4.00.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

IN FULL .....

..... 2-12-51

Regular Order Form

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

For the enclosed $6.50 please enter an annual subscription in my name. (Foreign or Canadian postage $1.00 extra.)

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY .....

ZONE.....STATE..... 2-12-51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED